6: Sugiura & Befu E-4, 5 (1951) 1962
AB6 Ainu AB6



and the leader of the patrilineal group, *utar-pake*, which suggests that the kin group and the territorial group were regarded conceptually as separate entities.[5] Takakura (1944: 63) states that the head of a kin group (*utar-pake*) "was traditionally the representative of a village and at the same time maintained the order of the village." This suggests that the head of the patrilineal group was also the village leader. If a village included two or more patrilineal groups, the head of one of them seems to have been the village leader. The specific duties of the village headman are not known; but whatever they may have been, the headman does not seem to have had any great authority. The position of the village head was inherited patrilineally within the descent group as a whole—in contrast to the "man's treasure," which was inherited within the family.

(6) *Ancestor worship* (*shinnurappa*). Since a detailed analysis of Ainu ancestor worship is available elsewhere (Kubodera 1952), we shall consider only the questions of (a) who participated in these rites and (b) which ancestors were worshipped. The family head or a closely related older patrikin, knowledgeable in ceremonial matters, officiated at the ritual. The family head's daughters and his father's sisters and daughters, who, of course, belonged to different matrilineal groups, also participated. The ancestors worshipped on these occasions were the male participants' fathers, grandfathers, and other male ancestors and the female participants' mothers, grandmothers, and other ancestresses. As the priest prayed to these ancestors through the deity of fire, they in turn convoked other ancestors, so that a large number of ancestors were worshipped at the same time. All the male ancestors propitiated were members of a single patrilineal group, whereas the ancestresses belonged to several different matrilineal groups.

## *Principal Features of the Matrilineal Descent Group*

(1) *Belt.* Underneath her clothes every adolescent or mature Ainu woman wore a belt, called *upshor* (Segawa 1952). This belt was never to be shown or talked about, and a great deal of magical belief was associated with it. Women who belonged to the same matrilineal group wore belts which were made in the same manner and differed from those worn by women of other descent groups. The belt was thus the symbol and proof of membership in the matrilineal group, as the ancestral crest was of the patrilineal group. A woman without a female blood relative from whom to inherit a belt sometimes received one from a woman belonging to a different matrilineal descent group. Moreover, if a woman married a son or brother of a woman who possessed the same type of belt as hers—in violation of the exogamous rule to be discussed below—the bride changed the type of belt she wore. Her daughter, however, reverted to the use of the original belt.

(2) *Inheritance of special skills.* Magical skills to cure illness and to communicate with the gods, midwifery, and the ability to recite Ainu epics are said to have been inherited matrilineally by